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many Badaga villages; such itinerant preaching continued throughout the century.

1847 The mission took over a school established in the central village of Ke:ti and began persuading local parents to send more children there; parents objected to losing their children's labour and a salary had to be paid for school attendance. Other mission schools started in Ka:ṭe:ri and So:gatore. Epidemic among Badaga cattle; Toda sorcery held responsible. Badagas in fear of the magic of the Revd. Weigle, who was vaccinating them against smallpox.

1849 The mission schoolmaster and the son of a Badaga headman involved in (unspecified) 'misconduct'. The headman prevented children from attending the school or communicating with missionaries, and that school was closed for six months. Another school opened in Sulligu:ḍu. Some smallpox prevalent.

1850 Ambivalent feelings towards missionaries expressed in the account of a village that begged the Revd. Metz to visit them, then vacillated and asked him not to as the village god might run away.

1853 Typhus epidemic killed over five hundred Badagas. Evangelists noted an increasing opposition to them.

1854 Cholera and typhus epidemics. Government made production and sale of opium illegal: this had been quite an important marketable item for Badagas; some of them were addicted.

1855 Smallpox epidemic killed over a thousand Badagas. Temple for Jesus Christ built. A Badaga presented himself for baptism but died before this could occur. Government prohibited the fire-walking ceremony.

1856 A missionary rest-house burnt down by Badagas. From this year until 1887 government continuously planting further tracts with eucalyptus trees.

1857 Mission school re-established in So:gatore and another in Ba:kola. Stories of the Indian Mutiny caused increased hostility among Badagas towards missionaries and indirectly prevented a conversion. Drought in the Nilgiris.

1858 The first Badaga convert to Christianity, Abraham Nerkambe (formerly Halaiya), was driven from his Kaṉakka village, which itself was ostracized; much opposition to his conversion, even from his wife. Large drop in school

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Violent opposition to almost every conversion characterized relations between Hindu Badagas and the mission from the time of the first conversion in 1858 to 1904, the last year in which some conversions 'roused a storm of persecution which could only be suppressed by the help of the police' (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69).

At about that time a story was circulating among Badagas and elsewhere in South India that just before Christmas the Christians sacrifice a human and offer the head on their altar; a Freemasons' Lodge in Wellington was said to preserve the skeletons.[14]

Personal Disorientation

There are a number of references in the Nilgiri literature to opium and intoxication. Opium had been produced and taken by the Badagas as early as 1812 at least, when there was an official reference to it (Keys, 1812, li; Macpherson, 1820, lix). But liquor was apparently unknown to them until three decades after their first contacts with the British (Marshall, 1873, 82). It was noted in 1820 (Macpherson, lix) that no intoxicant was distilled, drunkenness was unknown and opium chewed only in moderation. Though opium continued to be taken (Young, 1827, 42), locally made intoxicants were still unknown to the Badagas in 1834 (Ainslie, 1834, 36). By the time the mission was active among them, however, opium-eating was widespread (Metz, 1864, 132; Gover, 1871, 87), even though its manufacture was outlawed by the British in 1854 (Price, 1908, 224). Opium-eating was occasionally a problem in the Christian congregation and continued for long as a solace for the Hindus; it was stated to be on the increase at the turn of the century (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 59, 64; Basel Mission, 1905, 119, 129–130). Drinking was also an increasing problem at that time: in 1892 the Society of Virtuous People at Edapalli tried to stop the use of liquor and drugs there (B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78; Basel Mission, 1905, 170–172, 179). In 1905, a year of plague, some Badagas near Kotagiri decided their whole community was being ruined by drinking, and '. . . pledged themselves to their goddess Hette to give it up and to excommunicate [i.e., ostracize] everyone who transgresses this convenant' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68). The next year in Ke:ti Wieland noted that drinking was increasing rapidly among Badagas (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 63). The anecdotes quoted above contain a specific instance (in 2) of acute stress leading to apparent alcoholism; the Ke:ti

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this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39-42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pongal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1882, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41-42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . .'; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50-52, 164-168, 173-179.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892-1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

262	MEATS :			
261	eggs	×		
	mutton	×		
	chicken	×		
	fish	×		
	Nilgiri "ibex" or tahr	×		
	pork		×	
	OILS :			
	gingelly oil	×		79, 104-105, 109, 113, 126
	coconut oil	×		74, 85, 112, 134
	castor oil		×	74, 80, 104, 113, 118, 128
	STIMULANTS, NARCOTICS :			
[272]	coffee	×		77, 80, 82
[206]	chewing tobacco	×		104, 111, 128-129
[273]	brandy	×		80
	arrack	×		
[276]	opium	××		80-81, 127, 131, 139
	betel with lime		×	
[272]	tea		×	
	OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FOODS :			
[263]	salt	×		
	milk	×		
	honey	×		
	vibuti (sacred ash)		×	
	weathered feldspar "earth"		×	
	crude sugar (jaggery)		×	81
	buttermilk		×	
	clarified butter		×	
	curds		×	
	crude palm sugar		×	
	black pepper		×	
	water		×	
	butter		××	
[263]	spices (cooked in curry)	?	?	?

(*Note* : xx indicates an extreme heating or cooling effect.)

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this method the liquor does not come into contact with the outside air, and hence is considered stronger. Instead of dripping into a bottle, it is caught in a pan inside the still.

The ten-gallon still will produce 2¼ gallons of liquor. The first bottles collected from it are the stronger since they contain less condensed water vapour, but all of the bottles are re-mixed before sale to achieve a uniform strength. Usually 3/4 gallon of water is added at this point (i.e., a ratio of 1:3). But a much finer quality of arrack can be made for one's own consumption: its basis is not plain water, but rather one part of water to one part of natural fruit juices from oranges, berries and crushed bananas, and refined sugar is used in place of the crude variety. The result is considered a very healthy drink but is not readily available. When prohibition is not in force, Badagas usually buy their liquor in stores rather than make this arrack.

No liquor is made from the potatoes, carrots, aloe, and other European vegetables available in the Nilgiris, but one old man reported that an intoxicating beverage could be made from freshly ground prince's feather mixed with the milk of a buffalo that had just given birth. To become intoxicated by this drink, he said, one should sit near the fire or in the sunlight for a while.

Smoking

2.7. Women rarely drink liquor except medicinally, as for example after childbirth, but older women do smoke. Before cigarettes became available they used to roll some tobacco leaf in the broad leaf of the buckthorn bush, hold it together with a finger ring, and smoke it like a cigarette. There was also a vine, the common pepper of Ootacamund, which, if cut to a short length and dried, could be smoked like a cigarette because of its hollow stem.

In the early days tobacco had to be imported from the plains, and only the wealthy could afford it. Cigars are still a prestige item today, and it is cigars that a few old women (always post-menopausal) now smoke in place of the earlier *elebati* ("leaf-smoke"). Women of the low-status Toreya phratry smoke *bi:dis,* a coarse cigarette; but although cheap they are not the commonest smoking material for Badaga women. What they prefer to do is to share a clay or bone pipe, which is passed around amongst a group of female

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friends, the oldest woman of the senior generation level receiving it first, and then passing it on down the hierarchy of seniority.

Men commonly smoke *bi:dis* or other commercial cigarettes, but in the early days they too smoked dried pieces of the pepper vine.

Opium

2.8. Unlike tobacco, which grows on the Mysore Plain, the opium poppy is cultivated on the Nilgiris and has been since at least 1811. Until 1845 Badagas manufactured opium legally (Price 1908: 127, 224), and a few people have continued to do so in village gardens ever since. Poppy heads are still obtainable from the bazaars, and Todas, Kotas and Badagas often steep these in cups of coffee (Metz 1864: 132; Gover 1871: 87; Aiyappan 1948: 119). In the nineteenth century addiction seems to have been an occasional problem among Badagas (Macpherson 1820: lix; Mörike 1859: 31). Addicts felt lazy and quite fatigued. Apparently the opium was always chewed, and never smoked (Ouchterlony 1868: 26; "Geofry" 1881: 134; Francis 1908: 291). "The opium was made by scratching the green poppy-heads and collecting, after a day or two, the juice which had exuded, which had by then become gummy. This was generally done in the cold season, when the juice was supposed to be thickest." (Francis: 1908:290) It was more common in the nineteenth century to collect the poppy seed than this exudation, however; but some good quality opium was sold in the plains and even exported to China (Ouchterlony 1868: 26; Francis 1908: 290).

As we demonstrate in Chapter 6, opium was commonly used as a medicine, or as a technique of suicide, rather than as a hallucinogen. The poppy leaves were also boiled for one medicine. Therapists recognize that an addict cannot stop taking opium all at once, for "his nerves will not work and he will become mad," as I was told. Therefore the therapist gradually decreases the daily dosage of opium allowed to an addict until he is getting none.

Other hallucinogens do not seem to have been used by Badagas, even though some of them knew that the Indian willow leaf was dried, pounded and then smoked by the neighbouring Kurumbas for its hallucinogenic effect.

Hygiene

2.9. During the nineteenth century a universal complaint from

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844 [845] a midwife who knows this skill shakes the woman's legs until the baby comes into the right position.

Post-partum Practices

4.10. Before the cutting of the umbilicus, the baby is laid on the floor on sacking or cloth. The cord is tied with a piece of string (in old days, a thread lampwick), some 8 cm. from the belly. This string is to curtail bleeding. Then the umbilical cord is cut with a penknife or razor blade. In earlier days, significantly, it was only to be cut with a knife made by the Kotas and otherwise used in reaping.

Immediately a couple of handfuls of cold water are poured on the infant's shoulders or dabbed on with a cloth. In particular the left shoulder of a boy is wetted, or the crown of the head if it is a girl. This act is intended to make the child strong for carrying things, on the shoulder and head respectively. It is then bathed in very hot water.

In earlier days the next step was to cover the baby with oil pressed from the seeds of the castor-oil bush. Now ground-nut oil is put all over the body instead. The mother also takes a bath in very hot water—hotter than a normal bath. After this she sits down and is given a tumbler of cold water to drink. This is to make any shivering subside and to give her peace of mind. Some [273] women now take a sip of brandy, a practice dating back a century or so. If a woman's family are too poor to afford a nip of brandy, [296] a little opium is perhaps given instead, or else very poor people might simply crush a dried poppy head and give it to the mother in a glass of tea or coffee. Typically a poor mother will get one dose of opium just after the delivery, and then another on the following two days. The problem with using opium as a medicine [296] is that, whether it is taken after childbirth or simply to cure a cold, it may become addictive. The new mother is also given a little palm jaggery (a kind of crude sugar that keeps for years). Next they give her three or four cloves of garlic to eat, while one piece is put into each of her ears.

844 846 4.11. After both mother and baby have been bathed, the child is brought back to her. The mother sits, holding the baby, with its face on her right side and at the right breast. Before taking its first suck, it is given a drop of ground-nut oil to drink. Then a lime is cut in

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and Irula women had *belle*, whereas today only a tiny minority of them do.

People with either of these diseases are generally weak and unhealthy. *Su:le* can be recognized by the watery sores, but *belle* cannot be seen because it is "inside the body" of men. A therapist can tell from a person's face whether he has either disease. The remedy is to eat opium, as often as three times daily. In earlier days Badaga youths were encouraged to have relations with a variety of women so that they would catch *su:le* early in life; for if it first attacked them when much older and weaker it could kill them. Since they deliberately tried to spread the disease in this manner, it tended to be more widespread among the Badagas than among other tribal groups.

Nowadays it is a great disgrace if a person is known to have a venereal disease and he is shunned socially. The seriousness with which it is treated is adumbrated in the proverb, "A debt is like a woman's disease (*su:le*)." In general the disease is still brought into the community by men who have had relations with non-Badaga women, such as urban prostitutes. If a man knows that he is infected he avoids infecting his wife.

It is said that a particularly virulent form of the disease can only be cured by intercourse with a donkey. If the donkey dies immediately afterwards, the man is presumed cured. In one village where I stayed a man borrowed the washerman's donkey, but was dismayed to find that it did not die.

STERILITY

6.62. Aside from venereal disease, the only other serious reproductive problem for Badaga is infertility, as we have seen (3.17). To understand this, it must be stated that they do not traditionally connect conception with the fertilization of an ovum, but see it as an effect of satisfaction in the minds of the couple. Badagas do believe men can be sterile, but so rarely that only one man would

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842
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sad and discouraged, return home in the full conviction that the expenses they have been put to and the pains they have taken have been of no avail. (Dubois 1906 : 594-95)

842
837

More recently it has also been reported that sterile women attended the popular festival of the goddess Ma:riamma at Ka:ramaḍai, near the eastern foot of the Nilgiris in Coimbatore District, to have intercourse with religious mendicants there in the hope of getting children. Such unpleasant procedures, resorted to by Badaga, Tamilian and Kanarese pilgrims alike, have long since ceased to occur, but childless couples still make vows at the Ka:ramaḍai festival "Miles" : (1933 267).

[178]
[782]

6.65. A liquid medicine (details unrecorded) otherwise given to newly delivered mothers (cf. 4.11) is administered to a person who cannot urinate. This condition and the associated swollen bladder, caused by excess of "heat" in the body, are relieved by the medicine.

URETHRITIS (*sege*)

164
757

Fevers

6.66. The Badagas like the English have a saying, "If you are suffering from a cold, take extra food; if suffering from a fever, take little food." There are different kinds of fever, and they can affect people of all ages, but one medicine can be taken for all kinds. The shoots and smaller leaves of the velvety patchouli and related species (*koḍaṅgu*) are ground up and the juice from them mixed with some salt. This is swallowed, and is said to be more effective than quinine. In the early nineteenth century opium was used as a prophylactic against fever (Price 1908: 224).

FEVER (*jara*)

[276]
[278]

6.67. The Kurumbas knew of a now-forgotten twig or root which, when smelled fresh, dispelled fever. The present medicine of the Badagas makes use instead of the nest of the red-headed fantail warbler

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825

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all over the patient by a therapist of the same sex, and this is only done at night-time. In addition the patient must swallow at least three mouthfuls of the medicine. A bed is prepared in a hot part of the house, and the patient lies on it and is entirely covered with as many rugs and blankets as possible. After 20 to 90 minutes of this the patient, who is not even allowed to bare his head, breaks into a sweat. If the patient is not cured on the first night of this treatment (generally because he has just had sexual relations), it is continued for the next two nights or even for five consecutive nights. If he is still not cured by then the therapist knows that the illness is something other than Small Wind.

Should the patient want to go out in the morning after receiving this treatment, his face and feet are washed and water sprinkled over his body first. During the days he is being treated his diet is generally rice with onions, green leaves (*soppu*, "greens"), buttermilk, curd and some salt. Until completely cured he should have no chili.

6.72. Leprosy is called *doḍḍa no:* ("big disease") as a euphemism for its real name, *kusta ro:ga*, which Badagas would not generally utter. It is thought of as the worst punishment that can come through illness for the heavy sins of one's ancestors. Neither the Badagas nor the Kurumba specialists have a cure for leprosy, although those patients who can afford it take opium continuously to ease the pain. People avoid taking girls in marriage from a leprous family, although leprous men are allowed to mix in public because the disease is not thought to be contagious. Dead lepers are always buried in large quantities of salt, and not cremated.

Other general illnesses are dealt with elsewhere in this volume, in Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

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[757] from Burliya:r.

[759] [777] The cure for this ailment should preferably begin on the auspicious days Friday, Sunday or Tuesday. If the need is urgent it can also start on a Monday or a Wednesday; but never a Thursday or Saturday. The curing is done every night for at least three days, and it may continue till the fifth, seventh, ninth or eleventh day from the start. Usually the cure is done twice nightly; but if the case is very serious it will be done three times a night, at about 1900 hrs., midnight, and 0500 hrs. The curing can begin right after sunset, but it is generally started later, after supper. It is done at night because the house must remain closed throughout, including all windows.

When the therapist brings all the medical materials he has collected, he hides them somewhere in the bus nearby rather than bring them straight to the patient's house. These materials must not be brought [278] near children, not because the children are impure, but because some of the plants are probably poiso- [276] nous and the Indian willow is hallucinogenic.

[356] Before he starts in the evening the women clean the house and sprinkle liquid cowdung on the floor. If there is any meat in the house it should be taken [753] out before the cleaning begins. As the sickness is caused by a god, the people present while it is being [783] treated must be pure. For this reason no women are allowed to stay, except those who ceased menstrua- [562] tion at least 12 years before. No children under 18 are allowed to stay either, "because they may be affected by some bad smell," and contract the disease. None of the men present should smoke during the night either. One of them may be allowed to go into the bathroom and urinate or smoke, but only if his need is great.

Only when all the women and children have left for the night does the therapist go and bring the hidden plants into the house. The door is then shut behind him, and must not be opened again

648 Thoraiyas to virtually remain serfs, despite outside job opportunities. Female and male Thoraiyas continue to work on Badaga landholdings and serve in Badaga homes. Thoraiya males trained, for example, to be barbers, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, or washermen, have further served the Badagas. For their services, Thoraiyas are paid in cash and in kind. At periodic intervals and upon special occasions, such as Thoraiya weddings, presents are imparted by Badaga masters.

175 241 Plants exploited by the Badagas. A representative list of plants grown by the Badagas in the early 1800s is obtained from the writings of Keys and Harkness (Table III). Millet species were apparently the main subsistence cereals, but it is worth noting that barley and wheat were also raised. Plants grown commercially at that time were fenugreek (Trigonella foenum-graecum L.), garlic, mustard, and poppies (Harkness 1832: 138). Poppy juice, the source of salable opium, was extracted by women and children. Iron nails were used to scratch poppy capsules in the evenings, and gummy exudations were collected on following mornings. Capsules thus scratched every four days eventually died. Opium slowly obtained in this fashion was eaten and not smoked. Seeds collected from dead capsules were sold after sun-drying, and by boiling remaining capsule shells in water a stupefying beverage was obtained (Francis 1908: 290-291; Metz 1864: 153; Ward 1821: lxiii). According to Metz (1864: 153), fenugreek was sold to low country merchants; men from Coimbatore bought large quantities of garlic and onions, which were carried down to the plains on bullocks; and mustard seed sale alone was said by the Badagas

175 249

175 276

439 (651)

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